

"Although all Indian tribes of Western Amazonas use arrow-poison, only a few of them make it; most of them seem to obtain it by way of inter-tribal trade. This is indeed quite natural, considering that the vegetable ingredients necessary for its preparation cannot be obtained everywhere even in tropical South America. But it should also be remembered that the preparation of the arrow-poison is regarded by the Indians as a secret requiring great skill and experience and therefore is necessarily limited to certain tribes, or rather individuals of certain tribes, who make it a profession. Just as there are tribes particularly skilled in making pottery, so there are professional poison makers who jealously guard the secret of their art. Other tribes may prepare the poison, but they do not know how to make it effective enough and therefore prefer to buy it from their neighbours or other tribes who make a stronger kind. Moreover, a tribe may be particularly famed for its poison, if there arises in that tribe a poison maker who acquires greater skill in that art than the rest. The professional poison-maker is always a kind of sorcerer and in the same social position as a medicine-man; other members of the tribe as a rule know nothing of his secrets. This was particularly pointed out to me by a medicine-man at Canelos and by the Jibaros of the Pastaza.[145]

The Canelos Indians, or rather some of them, are quite skilled in the preparation of the arrow-poison and make it the object of a sort of trade with neighbouring tribes. Yet they frequently buy another and stronger kind from a half-civilized tribe on the Huallaga south of the Marañon whom they call Chasutas and who are renowned as skilled poison-

1: Karsten--144-145
619, 463

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

makers. These as well as the Ticunas, another tribe on the Amazon, are--or were formerly--the chief makers of poison in the upper Amazon region. The Canelos Indians try to imitate the Chasutas, but they confessed to me that they are not able to make the poison equally strong because, as they said, 'the Chasutas mix certain other ingredients in their poison which they keep secret and which, perhaps, do not exist in our country at all'. According to Chantre y Herrera the strong Ticuna poison was made of 'more than 30 herbs, fruits, and roots' (1) and about the same number of vegetable ingredients are used in preparing the poison of the Canelos Indians. "

"1. Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compania de Jesus en el Marañon Espanol, p. 87. "

2: Stirling--94 [2]

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

116, 463, 533

"While all Jivaros sing and all Jivaro men are able to play upon the flutes, some are regarded as being much more talented than others, and these are more frequently called upon to perform."

It is difficult for a neophyte to handle a canoe as it requires great skill to maintain one's balance. It is amazing to what thickness the cedar trunks grow. [75] During my trip through the Marañón territory I encountered an uprooted cedar tree with a diameter of about 170 cm.

Another means of transportation in the river area is the raft (balsa). It can be used for downstream voyages only and is therefore not so frequent. It is made by uniting several balsa trunks. The rafts are kept within the current by means of paddles.

28: Tessman--344-347
116, 292, 301, 463, 287

(No date) 1930

Jivaro-1

"There are no hats, but they have a head decoration (táwas) made of fur or feathers. One of the chief skills of the men is the art of arranging feather ornaments and ornaments made of other materials. The head ornaments are the most important ones. There is a great variety of such ornaments and they serve a variety of functions, some being used for feasts others for warlike expeditions. A festive head ornament is the wide band made of yellow and red toucan feathers. These feathers are used also on other decorations. The toucan band is simply placed around the forehead and tied in the back. Most of the head ornaments are war decorations. There are headbands (or, rather, circlets) and caps which cover the entire head. There are circlets that are open at the crown of the head, a fact which, on account of the trappings, is not apparent until one analyzes the ornament. One of the circlets is especially peculiar: it consists of liana strips that are concentrically arranged but leaving space between them. They are placed around the head like the brim of a crownless hat or like a 'halo'. On the outside the circlets are decorated and therefore widened by means of feathers or seeds (for instance Chrysophyllum). I call head crowns head decorations that are placed on the head like a crown. They consist of fur strips which stay stiff by themselves; other ornaments, such as bird skins, are frequently attached. In most instances they use the fur of monkeys or the tiger cat. But the essential part of this head ornament is a broad ring (or circlet) which

is often rather crudely plaited; on the outside it is covered with strips of fur or bird skin, sometimes with actual bird wings, which follow closely the shape of the circlet or project upward at the sides. In many instances bird skins dangle from the edges. I thought that many of these head ornaments were funny-looking, [347] reminding me very much of the tastelessly trimmed up ladies' hats of a bygone fashion era... The funny impression is heightened by the feminine facial features and the feminine hairdo of the Indians. I also saw fur caps, which were nothing but skins that were pulled over the head. The head of the animal was in front; it was slightly stuffed, and the eyes of the animal were replaced with red Erythrina fruits (huairuru L.). Bird skins, too, were prepared in this manner. The trumpeter bird, for instance. In the case of other fur caps the fur had been pulled over a plaited ring or over a base plaited in hexagonal meshes. It surprised me that the natives used monkey fur almost exclusively. I noticed the use of the fur of the Pithecia (tocón L.), of the Saimiri and of the nocturnal monkey."

28: Tessenan--353

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

116, 276, 757, 463

Guayusa is widely used. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 77 ff.) gives a detailed account of the concepts and customs that are connected with Guayusa drinking. Guayusa has the least magic qualities, but it has all the more medical ones. It is a purgative, prepared by the men only, but used by men and women alike. The Chiwaros believe that it makes the body in general strong and fit.

every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods.

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual.

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3).

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jivaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret

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